

Message Text

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41/64

ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-14 EUR-08 INR-05 PM-01 SP-02 L-01

A-01 IO-03 MMS-01 SCA-01 /042 W

----- 034073

R 221224Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2312

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 2731

STADIS/LIMDIS////////////////////

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (CORRECTION PARA 3 LINE 3)

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY DAVIS FROM WALKER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDIP, PFOR, PDEV, US, MZ

SUBJECT: NEW POSTURE TOWARD NEW MOZAMBIQUE GOVERNMENT AND
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

REF: (A) LOURENCO MARQUES 774; (B) LOURENCO MARQUES 771

1. SUMMARY: ESTABLISHMENT OF DIALOGUE WITH MOZAMBIQUE'S NEW
LEADERS ON DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS STALLED. NEW TACTICS ARE INDICATED.
RECOMMENDED OPTION IS TO LOWER OUR PROFILE BY WITHDRAWING CONSUL
GENERAL AND EXPLAIN OUR POSITION TO ZAMBIAN AND TANZANIAN LEADERS.
GOAL IS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ON BASIS OF MUTUAL RESPECT. END SUMMARY.

2. MY EFFORTS TO SEE CHISSANO IN ORDER TO DELIVER ORIGINAL
SIGNED LETTER FROM PRESIDENT FORD TO PRESIDENT MACHEL HAVE
BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL. THEREFORE, PLAN TO HAVE LETTER DELIVERED
TO CHISSANO'S CHIEF OF CABINET BY CONSUL REED. REED WILL POINT
OUT THAT LETTERS TO MACHEL FROM
CONFIDENTIAL

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THE SECRETARY AND THE PRESIDENT CONSTITUTE FORMAL PROPOSAL
FOR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND BALL IS IN MOZAMBIQUE'S COURT.

3. CONSIDERING ALL EFFORTS WE HAVE MADE TO ESTABLISH

DIALOGUE WITH FRELIMO LEADERS (ESPECIALLY SINCE PRESIDENT FORD'S PUBLICIZED TOAST DURING KAUNDA VISIT TO WASHINGTON) AND LACK OF REACTION FROM THEIR SIDE, MY BEST JUDGMENT IS THAT NEW MOZAMBIQUE GOVERNMENT (GPRM) HAS GIVEN US A SIGNAL THAT FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES HAVE A LOW PRIORITY IN THEIR FOREIGN POLICY. BELIEVE TIME HAS COME TO CONVEY TO GPRM (IN LOW KEY) A SIGNAL FROM WASHINGTON THAT WE BELIEVE WE HAVE TAKEN ALL REASONABLE STEPS TO ESTABLISH SUCH RELATIONS WHICH SHOULD NOW BE DEPENDENT ON A FRIENDLY GESTURE FROM IT. FAILURE OF MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDENCY AND OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO RECEIVE ME WITH LETTER FROM PRESIDENT FORD DEMONSTRATE THAT MY USEFULNESS IN LOURENCO MARQUES IS SEVERELY LIMITED. INDEED, MY PRESENCE MAY BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE, AS IT MAY BE AN UNWELCOME REMINDER OF PREINDEPENDENCE, COLONIAL ERA. (FRELIMO INDICATED TO GERMANS THAT FORMER CONSUL GENERAL PAGENSTARET, WHO ARRIVED IN ABOUT APRIL 1975, WOULD NOT BE WELCOME BACK AS AMBASSADOR.)

4. SIGNAL I RECOMMEND IS TO LOWER OUR PROFILE IN MOZAMBIQUE BY WITHDRAWING ME, AT THE SAME TIME PRIVATELY BRIEFING FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS CLOSE TO FRELIMO, SUCH AS ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA, ON THE GESTURES WE HAVE MADE TOWARD FRELIMO, THE LACK OF RESPONSE AND OUR REASON FOR WITHDRAWING ME. WITHDRAWAL SHOULD BE EXPLAINED AS AN INDICATION THAT WE CONSIDER DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SHOULD BE A MATTER OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND MUTUAL ADVANTAGE; THAT WE HAVE NO VESTED INTERESTS IN OR DESIGN ON MOZAMBIQUE; AND THAT WE BELIEVE IT IS NOW UP TO THE GPRM TO RESPOND TO OUR GESTURES OF GOOD WILL. IN THE MEANTIME, AS OUR FORMER CONSULATE GENERAL IS OFFICIALLY CLOSED BUT NOT BEING HARASSED, WE SHOULD LEAVE IT IN PLACE WITH CONSUL REED IN CHARGE.

5. DEPT MIGHT, OF COURSE, WISH TO CONSIDER APPROACHING ZAMBIAN AND TANZANIAN GOVERNMENTS PRIOR TO ACTUALLY WITHDRAWING ME. THIS WOULD BE PERFECTLY LOGICAL COURSE OF ACTION, BUT I RECOMMEND REVERSING OUR TACTICS AND DISPLAYING A LITTLE BIT OF INDIFFERENCE, RATHER THAN PLEADING WITH ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA TO ARGUE OUR CASE FOR US. ON THE OTHER HAND, MY WITHDRAWAL CONFIDENTIAL

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VEYED TO ZAMBIAN AND TANZANIAN LEADERS AFTER THE FACT MIGHT STIMULATE THEM, ON THEIR OWN INITIATIVE, TO QUESTION FRELIMO LEADERS' TACTICS AND ASK LATTER WHETHER THEY REALLY INTEND TO PURSUE A NON-ALIGNED POLICY.

6. A SECOND OPTION WOULD BE TO WITHDRAW ENTIRE CONSULAR STAFF AND ENTRUST OUR INTERESTS TO A PROTECTING POWER. NO OTHER WESTERN GOVERNMENT HAS DONE THIS (ALTHOUGH ALL BUT BRITISH HAVE PULLED OUT THEIR CG'S), AND I CONSIDER THAT PREMATURE OVERREACTION, UNLIKELY TO ACHIEVE OUR AIM AND DIFFICULT TO DEFEND TO OUTSIDE WORLD.

7. A THIRD OPTION WOULD BE TO DO NOTHING BUT CONTINUE TO "HANG IN

THERE." THIS WOULD BE THE MOST CAUTIOUS TACTIC, BUT, IF FOLLOWED, MIGHT WELL ENCOURAGE LENGTHY WAIT AND WOULD START OFF RELATIONS WITH THE NEW LEADERS OF MOZAMBIQUE ON THE WRONG FOOTING. FRELIMO LEADERS ALREADY SEEM TO HAVE IDEA THAT THEY WILL BE DOING US A FAVOR BY AGREEING TO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND BY ACCEPTING AID FROM US. YET IN THE LAST ANALYSIS THEY NEED US MORE THAN

WE NEED THEM. OUR ONLY TANGIBLE VESTED INTEREST IS CONTINUATION OF US NAVAL VISITS. HOWEVER, IN VIEW OF GPRM'S INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE POLICY, WHICH IS WRITTEN INTO THE CONSTITUTION AND REFLECTED STRONGLY IN THE LOCAL MEDIA, IT IS HIGHLY DOUBTFUL THAT SUCH VISITS WILL BE PERMITTED FOR SOME TIME TO COME. THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS GREATLY DEPENDENT ON FRELIMO'S FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION, BUT I DO NOT SEE THE USG HAVING ANY INFLUENCE ON THE GPRM IN THIS RESPECT EVEN IF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ARE ESTABLISHED. MOREOVER, THE LEAD TAKEN BY THE BRITISH ON THE WESTERN SIDE SHOULD ENABLE US TO REMAIN ON SIDELINES FOR TIME BEING.

8. RECOMMENDATION: THAT, ASSUMING THERE IS NO BREAKTHROUGH ON DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN NEXT TWO WEEKS (BY AUGUST 5), DEPT WITHDRAW ME AND FOLLOW THIS UP BY APPROACHES IN LUSAKA AND DAR ES SALAAM.
BOWDLER

CONFIDENTIAL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: MartinML
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975PRETOR02731
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750254-0364
From: PRETORIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197507107/baaaaube.tel
Line Count: 135
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: MartinML
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <05 NOV 2003 by MartinML>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PDIP, PFOR, PDEV, US, MZ
To: STATE INFO DAR ES SALAAM
LUSAKA
LOURENCO MARQUES
LONDON
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

